2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

among the entire Nilgiri population.

Chetti merchandise consists of cloth, lamp-wicks and various trinkets, which are exchanged for grain or cash when available. Since the early nineteenth century these traders have also made and bartered iron measures of volume, artifacts that had previously been made out of bamboo by the Todas.[22] The Nilgiri system of measures differed significantly from that of southern Mysore, presumably because these Chettis and the officers at Dannaika Ko:te imposed the standards of Coimbatore markets on the Badagas.

Each Badaga village has a traditional barter relationship with a particular Chetti man, inherited on either side by a son from his father; and despite the vast economic changes since the inception of this system some centuries ago the relationship continues today, modified only by a very considerable drop in the number of clients and volume of trade. During the ten days of his visit the Chetti works through two or three villages a day, restricting himself to the two dozen or more villages of his recognized territory, and then returns to his home in the plains. After twenty days of work there he returns to the plateau and repeats this circuit. Contiguous territories are covered by different Chettis often from the same village, so that one can send a message to his own Regional Chetti by contacting another one on tour in the hills. Although a Chetti may sometimes bring his wife with him all dealings occur between him and the Badaga men. If the Chetti's wife accompanies him it is only to strengthen the bonds of friendship with his Badaga trade associates, by making conversation with the Badaga womenfolk. During nights on the plateau the Chetti sleeps in the outer room of a Badaga friend. He is allowed to eat in that room as well but is expected to wash his own plate, an act indicative of his lower status.

The relationship between Badagas and Chettis is very different in character from that linking Badagas with Todas or Kotas. Until well into the twentieth century the latter linkages were crucial for the flow of necessary goods to members of the three communities; whereas trade with Chettis was never anything more than a convenience which in earlier times saved Badagas from extra journeys to the plains and more recently to the nearest bazaar. The Chetti is considered a foreigner as he is from the plains. Normally his Badaga friends need not visit his village: there is no ceremonial gift-exchange between the two and little participation in each

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

lxv; De La Tour, 1822, 261; Baber, 1830, 315; Harkness, 1832, 136-137; Birch, 1838, 103; 'Stocqueler,' 1845, 579; Price, 1908, 8; Sarada Raju, 1941, 107-108. On the partition of the district, see Grigg, 1880, 290-291, 303, and Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 117. See also Hockings, 1973.

7. Botanical identifications for the species referred to in this study, here arranged alphabetically, are as follows: almonds *(Terminalia catappa)*, barley *(Hordeum hexastichon)*, betel or areca nut *(Areca catechu)*, black dammer or resin (from *Canarium strictum*), black gram *(Phaseolus mungo)*, chick pea or Bengal gram *(Cicer arietinum)*, coconut *(Cocos nucifera)*, coffee *(Coffea arabica)*, common millet *(Panicum miliaceum)*, coriander *(Coriandrum sativum)*, country bean *(Dolichos lablab)* fenugreek *(Trigonella foenum-graecum)*, field peas *(Pisum arvense)*, finger millet *(Eleusine coracana)*, flax *(Linum mysorense)*, garlic *(Allium sativum)*, gentian *(Gentiana pedicellata)*, gourd *(Lagenaria vulgaris)*, great millet *(Andropogon sorghum)*, Italian millet *(Setaria italica)*, Italian rye *(Lolium italicum)*, lime *(Citrus aurantifolia)*, mustard *(Brassica juncea)*, oats *(Avena sativa)*, onion *(Allium cepa)*, panic-seed *(Setaria pallidifusca)*, pepper *(Piper schmidtii)*, poppy *(Papaver somniferum)*, potato *(Solanum tuberosum)*, prince's feather *(Amarantus paniculatus)*, pumpkin *(Cucurbita pepo)*, rattan cane *(Calamus spp.)*, rose-mallow *(Hibiscus esculentus)*, sandalwood *(Santalum album)*, slender millet *(Panicum miliare)*, tea *(Camellia sinensis)*, tobacco *(Nicotiana tabacum)*, turmeric *(Curcuma longa)*, and wheat *(Triticum dicoccum)*.

8. Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 115. This area is now the playing field between the Lawley Institute and the Botanical Gardens.

9. Baikie, 1857, 25. In the mid-nineteenth century the Sundepatti and Manna:ru Passes provided a safe short-cut for smugglers between Coimbatore and Malabar; Ouchterlony, 1848, 75; Grigg, 1880, 19, 291.

10. Nicholson, 1898, 352. Note that the deity is a Vaishnavite one; its chariot-dragging festival is still held. See above, p. 145.

11. After crossing the Bhavani River in a rattan coracle covered with skins; Mackworth, 1823, 118–119; Grigg, 1880, 295. Once a market was opened in Ootacamund Ka:ramuḍu ceased to have much importance for Badagas; Francis, 1908, 340.

12. *doḍḍa habba;* on the salt ceremony, see Hockings, 1968c, *passim.*

13. This fourteenth-century fortress, now submerged by the Bhavani Dam, controlled the important Gajalaṭṭi Pass which links southern Mysore with the Coimbatore Plain; Nicholson, 1898, 425–427.

14. Ward erroneously calls the sum a dowry.

15. Later in quarter and one rupee denominations.

16. In the amounts of Rs. ¼, ½, 1, 3, 6, 12, 24 and 48; but see below, p. 172.

17. Also the case in some other districts of Madras Presidency; Buchanan, 1807, vol. II, 247; Grigg, 1880, 286, n. 1.

18. The years 1803–1805 were a period of drought in the Nilgiris; Grigg, 1880, 279, n. 2.

19. There were as yet no Moslem traders.

20. Cloth was not among the trade items. The Coonoor Pass was completed in 1833; Grigg, 1880, 17.

21. Shandy means 'market', from the Tamil *cantai.*

22. Foodstuffs were usually traded by volume rather than weight, for scales were never used in or near the Nilgiris.